The Vietnam War Era: Camelot, Civil Rights, the Cold War, Vietnam, and Watergate

> U.S. History Dr. Donnelly

Camelot Begins: the 1960 Election

- Democrat Senator John F. Kennedy ran for president in 1960 against Republican Richard Nixon, Ike's outgoing Vice President.
- This was the first election with a televised debate, which played a key role – JFK simply looked better than Nixon on TV.
- JFK won the election, but just barely – Nixon chose not to contest disputed ballots in Illinois, which JFK had narrowly won, allowing JFK to win the electoral vote.



President John Fitzgerald Kennedy

- JFK is the youngest president ever <u>elected</u> (he was 43).
- He was also the first Catholic to become president.
- His wife, Jackie, and young children Caroline and John, Jr. gave JFK a wholesome image.
- JFK and Jackie encouraged comparisons to the popular Broadway play *Camelot*, which romanticized the story of King Arthur as "one brief shining moment" where the world was basically perfect.



The Bay of Pigs Invasion

- Fidel Castro's communist dictatorship in Cuba was seen as a Cold War threat to the U.S.
- Before JFK took office, the CIA had trained anti-Castro Cubans to invade Cuba, start a rebellion there and overthrow Castro.
- The invasion began at the Bay of Pigs on April 17, 1961.



JFK Flunks His First Test

- U.S. forces were to provide naval and air support to the Cuban rebels at the Bay of Pigs.
- But JFK had second thoughts at the last minute and withdrew U.S. support.
- With no U.S. support, the rebels were defeated by Castro – it was all over after two days.
- 1,200 anti-Castro Cubans were captured and later ransomed for \$50 million (paid by private sources) and returned to the U.S.



After-Effects of the Bay of Pigs

- JFK's failure at the Bay of Pigs made both himself and the U.S. look weak.
- This caused more problems with the Soviets, who now felt they could take advantage of JFK.
- The invasion also pushed Castro to really ally with the USSR and spurred the Cubans and Soviets to build up Cuba's defenses to protect against any future invasion – which also led to the idea of the Soviets installing nuclear missiles in Cuba.



The Berlin Crisis, 1958-1962

- Estimated 100,000 to 200,000 refugees fled communist East Berlin for free West Berlin every year in the 1950s.
- 1958: Soviet Premier Nikita Krushchev gave western powers an ultimatum to pull out of West Berlin within six months.
- U.S., Britain, & France refused to do so.
- Soviets built the Berlin Wall in 1961 to stop the flow of refugees to West Berlin.



JFK Meets Krushchev

- About two months before construction on the Berlin Wall began, JFK met with Krushchev in Vienna, Austria.
- Krushchev lectured to JFK and refused to make any compromises.
- Later, JFK privately admitted this was "the roughest thing in my life.... He just beat the hell out of me. I've got a terrible problem if he thinks I'm inexperienced and have no guts."



The Berlin Wall

- The Soviet-built wall separated East and West Berlin after August 1961.
- "The Wall" would symbolize the Cold War until its destruction in 1989.
- Krushchev again ordered the U.S., Britain, and France to leave West Berlin.
- In response, JFK sent 1,500 soldiers to West Berlin instead.

Toe-to-Toe in Berlin

- JFK also sent Air National Guard planes and troops to Europe in case of conflict with the Soviets over Berlin.
- October 27-28, 1961: tense standoff between U.S. and Soviet tanks at the Berlin Wall's Brandenberg Gate ended without bloodshed.
- June 26, 1963: JFK gave a speech in West Berlin, saying: "All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. Therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words, 'Ich bin ein Berliner!'" This speech is characteristic of JFK's anti-communism:
- JFK's strong stand for Berlin was appreciated, but there was one snag: technically, he had just said, "I am a jelly donut!"

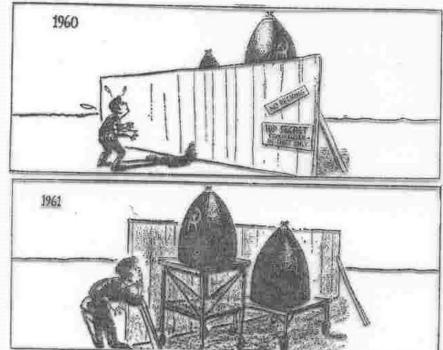
The Peace Corps

- A legacy of the '6os that still exists today, the Peace Corps was established by JFK to fight poverty worldwide.
- Peace Corps volunteers helped raise crops, build roads & houses, etc.
- This was also a way of fighting communism – poor countries aided by the U.S. Peace Corps would be less likely to turn communist for aid from the USSR.
- Here's a scene about Peace Corps volunteers from the movie, Airplane!



The Missile Gap

- In the 1960 presidential race, JFK had claimed that Ike and Nixon had allowed a "missile gap" to grow between the U.S. and USSR – that the USSR now had more nuclear missiles than the U.S.
 - JFK promised to build more missiles to close the gap if he was elected, which made him look dangerous to the USSR.
- In fact, we already had more missiles than the USSR.
- Nixon knew this, but didn't point it out, because he also wanted to build more missiles to stay ahead of the USSR.

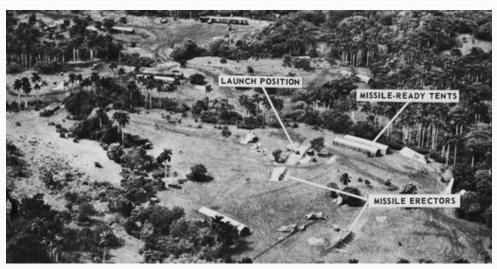


M.A.D.

- When JFK became president, he learned that his "missile gap" talk had been wrong.
- But since he'd promised to build more missiles, he had to follow through on that promise.
- He ordered more missiles built enough to strike back if the Soviets used a first-strike nuclear attack against the U.S.
- This was the policy of M.A.D. Mutual Assured Destruction – that since both the U.S. and USSR would be destroyed in a nuclear war, neither side could ever start one.
- By 1964, the U.S. had at least 1,100 bombers, 800 ICBMs, and 250 Polaris missiles.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

- October 14, 1962: a U.S. U-2 spy plane took photos showing Soviet nuclear missile sites being built in Cuba.
- Given the range of these missiles, they could've killed 80 million Americans in 5 minutes, if launched.
- The Soviets denied these existed, but were proven to be lying when U.S. showed the photos at the U.N.
- U.S. military leaders wanted to bomb Cuba, then invade & remove Castro.



The Crisis is Resolved

- JFK chose to blockade Cuba to stop Soviet ships from delivering more missiles – with plan to do airstrikes & invasion to take out missiles already in Cuba once they became operational.
- Krushchev threatened war, but finally agree to remove the missiles if the U.S. promised never to invade Cuba.
- JFK also secretly promised to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey in 6 months.
- The Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest we have ever been to having a nuclear war!



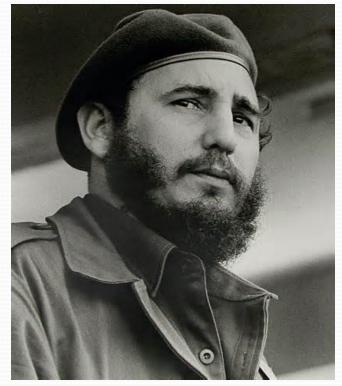
Che Guevara

- Fidel Castro's henchman Che Guevara was furious when the Soviets backed down in the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- He said that Cuba should have been "sacrificed" for the communist cause.
- Che is somehow remembered as "cool," because of Che T-shirts and movies like *The Motorcycle Diaries*.
- But was really a monster enjoyed executing people, opposed freedom of religion, speech, & press, had gays jailed, repressed rock music as "subversive," etc.
- Cuban exiles call him "the Butcher of La Cabana" because of all those he had executed at La Cabana prison.



Fidel Castro

- Castro took over Cuba & established it as a communist dictatorship in 1959.
- Became a hated rival of President John F. Kennedy – some conspiracies about JFK's assassination are based on the idea that Castro had JFK killed.
- A popular urban legend is that Castro was a Major League Baseball player – a pitcher for the Washington Senators in the 1940s – but this is NOT true!



J. Edgar Hoover

- Hoover was Director of the FBI from 1924 until his death in 1972. FBI directors are now limited to 10 years in office to prevent them from becoming as powerful and controversial as Hoover was.
- Although he first made a name for himself fighting organized crime in the 1920s and 1930s, Hoover is at least equally remembered now for his work hunting communists during the Cold War, and investigating civil rights leaders, such as Martin Luther King, Jr., whom Hoover had wiretapped and recordings made of King's extramarital affairs (Hoover was interested in King because of King's alleged ties to communism).
- Hoover is especially controversial for alleged violations of privacy committed by the FBI under his leadership, and for allegations (unproven) that he was a homosexual and a cross-dresser. On the other hand, Hoover is also credited with developing the FBI into an effective, modern crime-fighting agency.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

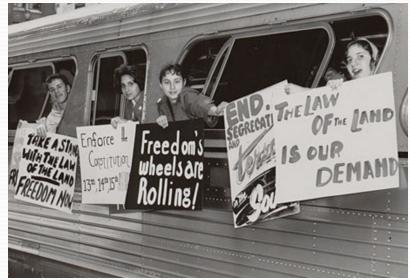
- Easily the most famous figure of the civil rights movement, King also became an outspoken critic of the Vietnam War before his death in 1968.
- Best-known for his famous "I have a dream speech."

JFK and Civil Rights

- JFK was cautious about supporting the civil rights movement, especially since FBI director Hoover linked civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King to communism (and JFK was a strong anti-communist).
- As president, JFK appointed some blacks to key government jobs – but also appointed prosegregation federal judges to appease southern Democrats (who were prosegregation).

The Freedom Riders

- Supreme Court rulings against segregation of public buses had been ignored by southern states & not enforced by the federal gov't.
- Freedom Riders were young (mostly college students) and included many whites as well as blacks.
- In summer 1961, they intentionally used the "wrong" colored areas of buses & bus depots in the South.
- Were sometimes beaten by mobs or arrested, but gained attention for the movement so that buses were desegregated in the future.



"Ole Miss"

- The University of Mississippi had never had a black student until 1962, when JFK ordered it to admit black army veteran James Meredith as its first black student.
- Anger over JFK's action led to riots – he then had to send 5,000 troops to Mississippi to restore order.

Birmingham

- April 1963: MLK held a peaceful protest against local segregation in Birmingham, Alabama.
- Birmingham police chief Eugene "Bull" Connor, who had just lost in the city's mayoral election on April 2, broke up the protest with dogs, fire hoses, and electric cattle prods.
- Americans who saw film and photos of these events were shocked – their sympathy helped the civil rights movement.
- Not all blacks were willing to risk their safety to protest this way – heavyweight boxing champion Sonny Liston told a reporter that he didn't protest in Birmingham because "I ain't got no dog-proof ass."



George Wallace's Stand for Segregation

- Wallace was governor of Alabama.
- Like Ole Miss, the U of Alabama had never had a black student, but was ordered to integrate by allowing black students in 1963.
- Wallace promised to "stand in the schoolhouse door" if needed to stop integration at the university.
- In June 1963, he did symbolically stand in the door to keep the U's first black students from attending class before stepping aside as the students were escorted to class by National Guard troops.

More About George Wallace

- Wallace hadn't always been a staunch segregationist – he lost the 1958 Alabama governor's race to John Patterson (who was backed by the KKK, whereas Wallace had denounced the KKK).
- Later, Wallace said he was "outniggered by John Patterson" and vowed not to let it happen again, becoming a hard-line segregationist.
- He then won the next governor's race, promising "segregation today, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever!"

Wallace Reforms

- Wallace later ran for president several times: as an Independent in 1968 and as a Democrat (where he lost in the primaries in 1972 and '76).
- In 1968, he promised that his campaign limo would run over hippy protesters who tried to stop it by laying down in front of it, saying "the only four-letter words hippies don't know are work and soap!"
- On May 15, 1972, Wallace was paralyzed after being shot five times by Arthur Bremer (as shown in *Forrest Gump*)
- He later became a born-again Christian & renounced and apologized for his old segregationist views.



JFK's Civil Rights Speech

- On June 11, 1963, JFK gave a nationally televised speech, calling on Congress to pass a civil rights bill to end segregation.
- This was his strongest statement in favor of civil rights.

https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=RWX_pjyIq-g

Medgar Evers

- Evers was head of Mississippi's chapter of the NAACP.
- The night after JFK's civil rights speech, Evers was murdered – shot by a sniper as he got out of his car in the driveway of his house.
- The shooter was KKK member Byron de la Beckwith – he was arrested in 1964, but not found guilty until 1994!
- The movie Ghosts of Mississippi was about Evers' murder and the case against de la Beckwith: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=</u> JS5Eg55ACYM.



You can kill a man but you can't kill an idea.

(Medgar Evers)

izquotes.com

The March on Washington

 August 28, 1963: about 200,000 attended a rally at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. to urge Congress to pass a civil rights bill as JFK had proposed in his civil rights speech that June.

 The highlight of the day was Martin Luther King's famous "I have a dream" speech: <u>https://www.youtube.com/w</u> <u>atch?v=lOig2v7ZfcA</u>.

Bombing in Birmingham

- Just a few weeks after the March on Washington, a bomb planted by the KKK destroyed much of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Al., on September 15, 1963.
- Four young black girls were killed: Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson, and Carol McNair.
- The bombers were Robert Chambliss (sentenced to life in prison in 1978, died in '85), Herman Cash (died in 1994 without ever being charged), and Bobby Cherry & Thomas Blanton (both sentenced to life in prison in 2000).

JFK and Vietnam

- Determined not to "lose Vietnam" the way critics said Truman had lost China, JFK sent more U.S. military advisers (total of 16,000) to support South Vietnam's president, Ngo Dihn Diem.
- Diem was opposed by the Viet Cong communist guerrillas backed by North Vietnamese ruler Ho Chi Minh.
- Diem used brutal tactics to keep his power; JFK eventually withdrew support for Diem.
 - Some insiders claim JFK would've gotten the U.S. out of Vietnam if he hadn't been assassinated first.
- November 2, 1963: Diem was overthrown & killed by his own soldiers

 JFK did nothing to prevent this.
- JFK himself was soon assassinated (Nov. 22, 1963).



Death of JFK

- JFK traveled to Florida and Texas to campaign for reelection in 1964.
- November 22, 1963: JFK visited Dallas, a city he had been warned to avoid.
- While riding through Dealey Plaza in downtown Dallas, JFK was shot twice by an assassin and pronounced dead soon after arriving at Parkland Memorial Hospital moments later.





Lee Harvey Oswald

- American communist and ex-Marine Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested later that afternoon after killing a Dallas police officer and then attempting to hide in a movie theater.
- Oswald worked at the Texas School Book Depository building, where JFK had been shot from.



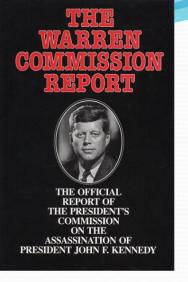
Jack Ruby

- Jack Ruby, a Dallas nightclub owner with low-level Mafia connections, was an ardent supporter of JFK.
- Two days after the assassination, Ruby mingled with a crowd of reporters watching Oswald get transferred to a new jail by Dallas police.
- Ruby stepped forward and shot Oswald in the chest at close range, killing him.
- Now it would be impossible to interrogate Oswald to learn if he had any accomplices.
- This actually happened on live TV: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r</u> <u>6PcVCqg3tg</u>



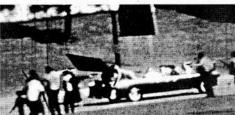
The Warren Commission

- The public and Congress demanded to know the truth behind the JFK assassination as soon as possible, so the government appointed the Warren Commission (it was led by Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren) to investigate.
- In 1964, the Warren Commission concluded that JFK had been killed by a lone gunman (Oswald), and that Ruby had also killed Oswald on his own – there was no conspiracy to kill JFK.
- This conclusion didn't satisfy conspiracy theorists, who still insist that JFK had to have been killed by more than one "silly little communist."





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Reaction to JFK's Death

- Like with Pearl Harbor, Americans would always remember where they were and what they were doing when they learned of JFK's assassination.
- Even JFK's political rivals considered his death a tragedy.
- The U.S. and the world mourned him – it was considered especially tragic that he left behind his beautiful widow, Jackie, and their adorable young children, Caroline and John, Jr.



The New President: LBJ

- JFK's vice president, Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) was sworn in as president aboard Air Force One before it left Dallas on the day JFK died.
- LBJ had idolized FDR and wanted to focus on civil rights and a new and bigger version of the New Deal (the Great Society) – but his presidency would be remembered perhaps most of all for the Vietnam War.



LBJ Gets Four More Years

- In 1964, LBJ was elected president in a landslide over Republican candidate Barry Goldwater.
- LBJ's victory was partly due to sympathy for JFK – since LBJ had been his vice president, a vote for LBJ also felt like another vote for JFK.
- LBJ also won in large part because Goldwater was portrayed as a trigger-happy war-monger who would start World War III if elected.



Civil Rights: Freedom Summer, 1964

 1964 was called the "Freedom Summer" by northern civil rights workers who traveled throughout the South to register blacks to vote and to support the passage of the civil rights bill that had begun with JFK's 1963 civil rights speech.

 1964 is also remembered as "the long, hot summer" because of the racial violence that occurred in the South that year.



Murder in Mississippi

- Three civil rights workers: James Chaney (age 21), Andrew Goodman (age 20), and Mickey Schwerner (age 24) were murdered by KKK members in Mississippi on June 21, 1964.
- Their bodies weren't found until August 4, buried in an earthen dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi.
- The story of their murders and the FBI investigation that followed is told by the popular movie *Mississippi Burning*.



The Civil Rights Act of 1964

- While the Mississippi murders were still being investigated, the civil rights bill was passed into law and became the Civil Rights Act on July 2, 1964.
- Southern senators such as former KKK member Robert Byrd (a Democrat from West Virginia) tried to kill this bill, but it was saved in the Senate by Montana Democrat Mike Mansfield and signed into law by LBJ.



What the Civil Rights Act did

 It denied federal money (grants, loans, etc.) to any programs/businesses that discriminated against blacks – basically, this threw out all the Jim Crow (segregation) laws in the South.

- As it had passed with the help of northern Democrats, it became the political turning point where most white southern Democrats left the party – many became Republicans.
- Also, most blacks then became Democrats & left the Republican Party.



The 24th Amendment

- Poll taxes had been used to keep poor blacks and whites from voting in the past.
- In 1964, this amendment was added to the Constitution to outlaw poll taxes, so now everyone could vote for free.

The Selma to Montgomery March

- Actually, it was three marches only the last one made it all the way to Montgomery.
- Main goal was to register blacks to vote.
- Led by civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King in March 1965, only the last march made it all the way from Selma, Alabama to Montgomery, Alabama.
- Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965: 600 civil rights workers were attacked by state and local police who used tear gas and billy clubs on them – caught on film, this also generated sympathy for civil rights around the U.S.



The Voting Rights Act of 1965

- This law allowed blacks in "high risk" areas (like Mississippi and other southern states in the 1960s) to register to vote at the polls on election day, instead of several weeks in advance.
 - This was because blacks who registered early in such places had become targets for the KKK and were often attacked or intimidated from voting.
- Also, the law got rid of literacy tests for voters, which had been used to keep blacks from voting.

A MILLION NEW NEGRO VOTERS?



President Johnson, at the Capital, signs the new voting-rights bill for Negroes

Affirmative Action

- In 1965, LBJ ordered federal contractors to give hiring preference to groups that had faced "past and present discrimination," such as minorities and women.
- This led to widespread gender and racial quotas in job hiring – employers were forced to hire certain numbers of women, blacks, etc. even if they were less qualified. Colleges did the same with student admissions.
- Very controversial critics said affirmative action was reverse discrimination against white males.
- Lawsuits later weakened affirmative action and it is much more rare today.

Race Riots in the Sixties

- From 1965 to 1968, over 100 race riots occurred in the U.S.
- Worst were Watts, California in August 1965 (6 days, 34 killed, 1,000 buildings destroyed) and Detroit in July 1967 (5 days, 43 killed, 2,000 buildings destroyed). Thousands were also injured in each of these riots.



Radical civil rights leaders

 While leaders like Martin Luther King were known for their peaceful protests, some black civil rights leaders were very radical.

 These included Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and Ron Karenga.

Elijah Muhammad

- Elijah Muhammad founded the Nation of Islam (NOI), often called the Black Muslims.
- Claimed that all whites were "devils" and that originally all people had been black until an evil black scientist created the white devils.
- No, seriously, he said this.
- Elijah Muhammad also had a good relationship with American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell – both wanted blacks and whites kept separate.
- Still, he won many converts to the NOI, including the great heavyweight boxing champion, Cassius Clay.
- You don't know who Cassius Clay is? Maybe you know him as:



The Honorable Elijah Muhammad

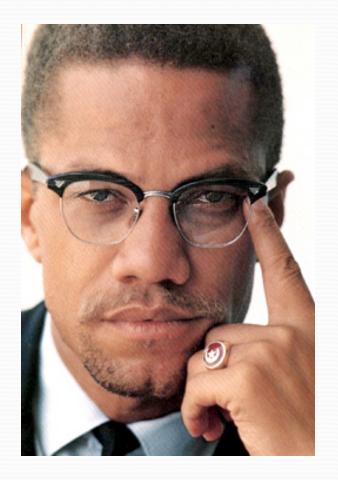
Muhammad Ali

- Cassius Clay first changed his name to Cassius X (said Clay was his "slave name"), then was given the name Muhammad Ali by Elijah Muhammad.
- He is widely considered the greatest boxer of all time.



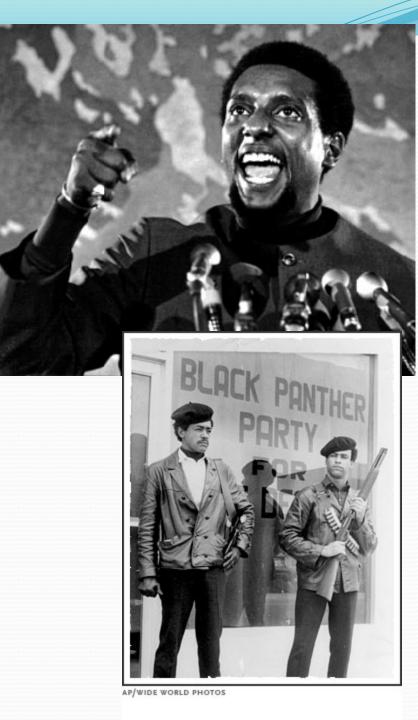
Malcolm X

- Originally Malcolm Little, he became a follower of Elijah Muhammad and joined the Black Muslims.
- A great public speaker, he became more the public face of the NOI than even Elijah Muhammad himself – this was a problem.
- After visiting Mecca, Malcolm became more moderate, quarreled with Elijah Muhammad, and was expelled from the NOI.
- Malcolm started his own church (Muslim Mosque, Inc.) to compete with the NOI.
- On February 21, 1965, Malcolm was assassinated by members of the NOI.



Stokely Carmichael

- Carmichael started the "Black Power" movement in 1966 – called for blacks to stop using peaceful protests and instead use violence to "get even" with whites.
- This led to the creation of the Black Panther Party by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale later in 1966.



Ron Karenga

- Karenga founded United Slaves, a radical anti-white group to compete with the Black Panthers.
- Karenga was backed by the FBI historians say the FBI encouraged him because if United Slaves and the Black Panthers were busy fighting each other, these leftist groups were less of a threat to society.
- Several Black Panthers were actually murdered by United Slaves.
- Karenga also created the Kwanzaa holiday in 1966.



Martin Luther King, Jr.

- King had been investigated by the FBI since JFK was president – it was feared he was working with communists to undermine the U.S.
- In 1967, King expanded his protests from just focusing on civil rights for blacks to also protesting against the Vietnam War.

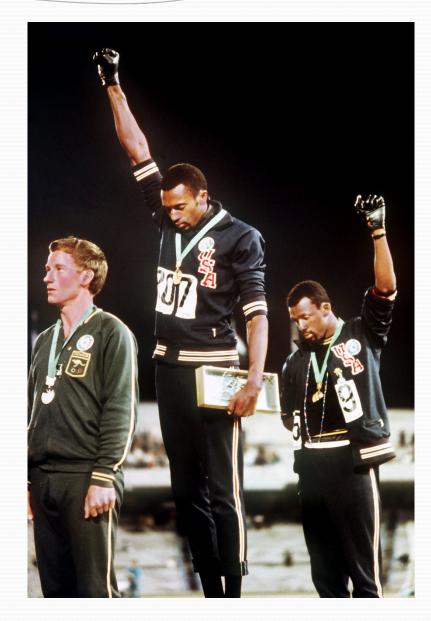


Assassination of MLK

- King was in Memphis, Tennessee to protest for striking garbage collectors (many of whom were black) when he was assassinated on April 4, 1968.
- King was shot while standing on the balcony of his hotel room.
- A white man named James Earl Ray was arrested and admitted shooting King. He was sentenced to life in prison.
- There are also conspiracy theories that King may have been killed by the government and Ray was set up as a "patsy" to take the rap, but there is no solid evidence to support this.

The 1968 Olympics Protest

- After the 200-meter dash, American gold medalist Tommie Smith and bronze medalist John Carlos protested for civil rights by raising their gloved fists in the Black Power salute.
- Because the games were officially non-political, this act was very controversial and resulted in Smith and Carlos being expelled from the rest of the games.



LBJ's "Great Society"

• LBJ idolized FDR & wanted to create the largest federal aid program ever to surpass the New Deal of the 1930s.

• This included:

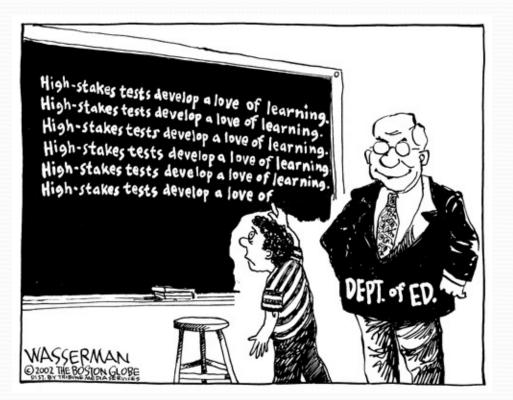
- Civil rights laws
- A "War on Poverty"
- Massive federal spending on education
- Creating Medicare and Medicaid
- Over 500 reform laws, including anti-pollution & auto safety laws

The War on Poverty

- As part of the Great Society, the War on Poverty spent \$1 billion in 1964 alone on welfare, food stamps, Job Corps, VISTA (similar to the Peace Corps, but done in the U.S., not foreign countries), public housing projects, etc.
- More money was spent each year as these programs continued to grow and more Americans went on such public assistance programs.

ESEA

- Another key part of the Great Society was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which is still routinely renewed by Congress to this day.
- It spends federal money on each state's public schools – recent versions of ESEA include No Child Left Behind and (now) Race to the Top, which base school funding on standardized test scores.



Rachel Carson & Ralph Nader

- The Great Society also included antipollution laws in response to Rachel Carson's book Silent Spring and Ralph Nader's book Unsafe at Any Speed.
- Carson said that DDT bug poison was going to result in the extinction of birds & that bugs were becoming DDTresistant anyway.
 - DDT was soon banned in the U.S.
- Nader used statistics to show that thousands of Americans died each year because of a lack of safety features in cars (the Chevy Corvair was especially bad).
 - Safety features like seat belts became mandatory in cars.

Legacy of the Great Society – Good or Bad?

- LBJ's massive expansion of welfare is often criticized as too expensive – raising taxes and then wasting the money on programs that encourage people to stay poor so they can keep getting welfare.
- Percentage of children born in U.S. to single mothers has risen from 8% in 1967 to about 40% today (70% for African Americans), which critics trace to Great Society policies that encouraged single-parenthood as a way to qualify for government benefits.
 - Since kids from single-parent families are statistically more at risk for most problems than those from two-parent families, this is a major criticism of LBJ.
- Other Great Society programs like Medicare and Medicaid are seen as necessary but many want them reformed to make them less expensive and to cut fraud & waste.

LBJ and Vietnam

- LBJ didn't want to focus on Vietnam, but also was afraid to "lose Vietnam" – and eventually started the Vietnam War as the U.S. knows it.
- In August 1964, attacks on the U.S. destroyers *Maddox* and *Turner Joy* by North Vietnamese patrol boats in the Gulf of Tonkin led LBJ to ask Congress to let him take action.
 - The first attack is agreed to have happened, but many historians think the second attack never actually took place.



LIFE DURING WARTIME WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 2009~

The Gulf of Tonkin Incident

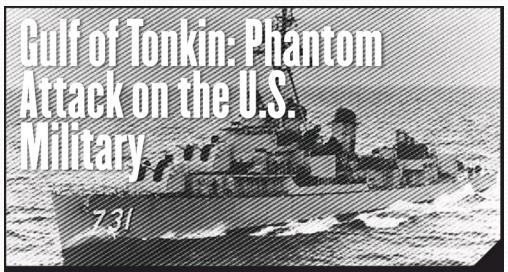
August 2^{nd-}4th, 1964





The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

- Also called the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, this was passed by Congress in 1964 after the incident in the Gulf of Tonkin.
- Although not a declaration of war against North Vietnam, it gave LBJ unlimited power to take military action in Vietnam, including sending ground troops there.



n Aug. 4, 1964, President Lyndon Johnson went on national television and told the nation that North Vietnam had attacked U.S. ships.

"Repeated acts of violence against the armed forces of the United States must be met not only with alert defense, but with a positive reply. That reply is being given as I speak tonight," Johnson declared.

Congress soon passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which provided Johnson with pre-approved authority to conduct military operations against North Vietnam. By 1969, more than 500,000 troops were fighting in Southeast Asia.

Johnson and his Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, had bamboozled Congress and the American people. In fact, North Vietnam had not attacked the USS Maddox, as the Pentagon claimed, and the "unequivocal proof" of an "unprovoked" second attack against the U.S. warship was a ruse.

Operation Rolling Thunder

- LBJ ordered widespread bombing of North Vietnam, beginning in February 1965

 this was called Operation Rolling Thunder.
- Goal was to get the North Vietnamese to negotiate peace with South Vietnam (when peace was made, the bombing would stop).
- North Vietnam still refused to make peace.



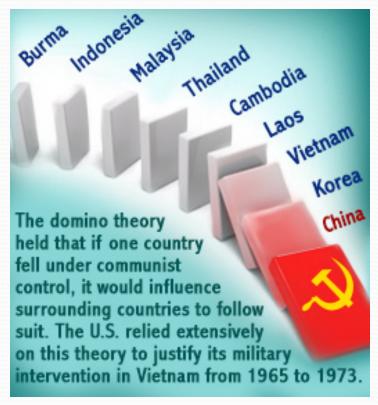
The Vietnam War Begins

- Although fighting in Vietnam had really begun with the Vietminh fighting the French in the 1950s, the start of the Vietnam War for the U.S. was when LBJ sent ground troops to fight the Viet Cong in South Vietnam.
- First U.S. Marines landed April 1, 1965; by the end of 1965, the U.S. had 185,000 troops in South Vietnam.



Why the U.S. was in Vietnam

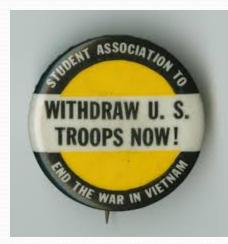
- Three main reasons for the Vietnam War:
- To stop the Domino Theory from taking effect in Asia.
- 2. To stop communist aggression early.
- 3. To protect America's reputation as the defender of the free world.



Opposition to the Vietnam War

- Most Americans actually supported the war in Vietnam at first.
- As the war dragged on, fewer Americans supported it.
- Since it was seen as LBJ's war, his approval gradually fell from a strong 66% to a weak 44%.
- Antiwar protests increased, especially on college campuses – and largely blamed LBJ for the increasing number of American casualties.
 - A common chant was "Hey, hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"





Robert McNamara

- McNamara had been first JFK's, and then LBJ's, Secretary of Defense.
- He had originally been a strong supporter of the Vietnam War.
- The Pentagon Papers: McNamara led a study by the Defense Department about the U.S. government's role in Vietnam, which found that the government (led by LBJ) had systematically misled/lied to the public in telling them that the U.S. was winning and the enemy in Vietnam would soon surrender.
 - These papers were kept secret from the American public.
- Disillusioned, McNamara resigned and later became a major critic of the Vietnam War.



Tet: The Turning Point

- Tet is a holiday celebrating Vietnam's lunar new year and is the holiest time of the year in Vietnam.
- North and South Vietnam had always held a cease-fire and stopped fighting during Tet.
- On January 30, 1968, the Viet Cong attacked all over South Vietnam during Tet, catching the South Vietnamese and U.S. forces by surprise.
- Their larger goal was to start a revolution all through South Vietnam, with the South Vietnamese public rising up to join the communists.

Tet: Victory and Defeat

- Although the Viet Cong (VC) attacked hundreds of places and captured many, their gains were temporary – the U.S. won <u>all</u> of the battles during Tet and quickly recaptured everything the VC had taken.
- After Tet, the VC almost ceased to exist – they'd been nearly wiped out by the U.S.
- Also, the revolution the VC had hoped to start didn't happen – the people did not rise up and join the communists.



American soldiers during the Tet Offensive

The Battle of Khe Sanh

- On January 21, 1968, nearly 20,000 NVA (North Vietnamese Army) troops began a siege attack against the U.S. Khe Sanh Combat Base and its 6,000 U.S. Marines.
- Historians still debate whether the NVA attack on Khe Sanh was to distract the U.S. before the Tet Offensive, or if the Tet Offensive was a distraction to help the NVA capture Khe Sanh.
- The siege lasted 77 days, with many in the U.S. fearing that Khe Sanh would become the American version of Dien Bien Phu (where the French had been defeated in 1954 and forced out of Vietnam).
- In the end, the U.S. won the NVA siege ended April 6, 1968 with a total of 5,500 to 15,000 NVA killed (274 U.S. killed).



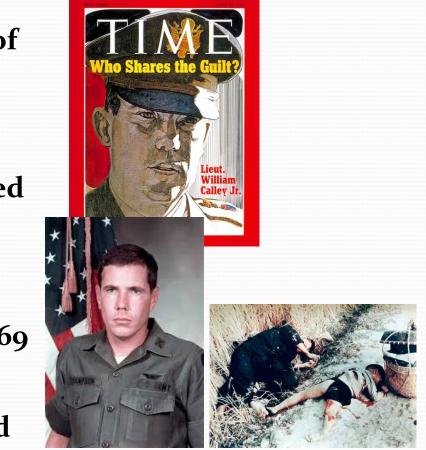
How Tet Became the Turning Point

- Although the U.S. had won on the battlefield, the media reported Tet as if it had been a major defeat for the U.S.
- The public, after being told for two years that the enemy was near surrender, wondered how the VC could even have the strength to attempt such an attack – many were angry about the government's misleading them.
- Antiwar feeling in the U.S. increased greatly after Tet.
- As support for the war eroded, the U.S. began to look to get out of Vietnam – Tet was seen as the turning point where the U.S. began to "lose" in Vietnam.



The My Lai Massacre

- March 16, 1968: in the aftermath of the Tet Offensive, U.S. troops led by Lt. William Calley attacked the village of My Lai and wiped out over 300 Vietnamese civilians.
- The massacre ended when a U.S. helicopter crew led by pilot Hugh Thompson, Jr. arrived and threatened to shoot those carrying out the massacre unless they stopped.
- The massacre was mostly unknown until *Time* and *Life* magazines published articles about it in late 1969 following Lt. Calley's court-martial.
- News of My Lai further angered the public about Vietnam and gave a bad reputation to Vietnam veterans in general, even though almost all of them never did such a thing.



LBJ Bows Out

- March 31, 1968: in the aftermath of the Tet Offensive, President Lyndon Johnson appeared on national TV to discuss the progress of the war in Vietnam.
- He then shocked Americans by announcing that he would not run for re-election that fall.
- The struggle for Vietnam had ruined LBJ's popularity and worn him down to the point that he no longer wanted to be president.
- Politically, this meant that the Democrats would have to quickly find a new presidential candidate to run against Republican candidate Richard Nixon.



The 1968 Election

- With LBJ out, Democrats had to choose between Robert F. Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy, and Hubert H. Humphrey as their presidential nominee.
- RFK had become the favorite by winning the California primary on June 5, but was assassinated later that night by Sirhan Sirhan, a Palestinian Jordanian angry about RFK's support for Israel during the Six-Day War in 1967 (in which Israel had defeated Jordan).
- Humphrey won the Democratic nomination at their party convention, but was then defeated for president by Republican candidate Richard M. Nixon in the November 1968 election.





Hubert H. Humphrey U.S. Vice President 1965 - 1969

Is there a Kennedy curse?

- Talk of a "Kennedy Curse" began when Bobby Kennedy was assassinated less than 5 years after JFK's assassination; their oldest brother, Joseph Kennedy, Jr., had died in WWII.
- "Curse" theories intensified after the youngest and only surviving Kennedy brother, Edward, aka
 "Teddy," drove his car off a bridge near Chappaquiddick Island, Martha's Vineyard, in July 1969.
- At the time, Teddy was a senator, and there was talk that he'd run for president in 1972.
- Although Teddy escaped the crash with minor injuries, his passenger, 28-year old Mary Jo Kopechne, was killed.







Chappaquiddick: What happened?

- Senator Ted Kennedy had left a party with Mary Jo Kopechne late on the night of July 18, 1969.
- Driving down an unlit road (and possibly intoxicated), he failed to negotiate a turn onto the Dike Bridge, and drove his car into the tidal pool.
- The car overturned underwater Kennedy escaped but left Kopechne trapped inside.
- He didn't notify police of the crash until 9 hours later!
- The diver who retrieved the body said that Kopechne appeared to have died of asphyxiation, not drowning, and could've been saved if the accident was reported immediately.





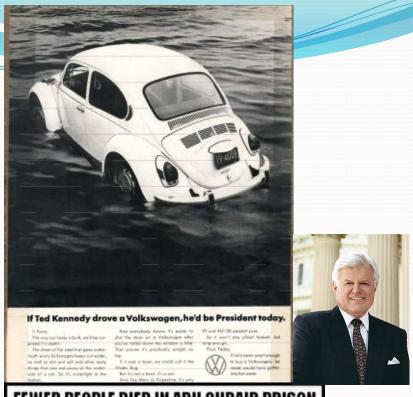
Eagle Lands in Moon Dust Today



Aftermath of

Chappaquiddick

- Kennedy pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor crime (leaving the scene of an accident) and received a suspended twomonth jail sentence.
- But his chances to run for president in 1972 were ruined.
- He would later run for president in 1980, but lost the Democratic nomination to Jimmy Carter.
- He remained a senator for Massachusetts until his death in 2009.

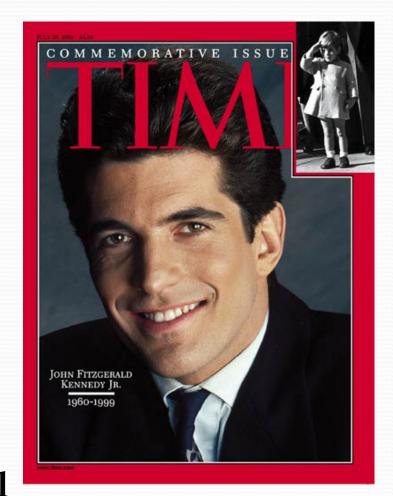




THAN DIED IN TED KENNEDY'S OLDSMOBILE.

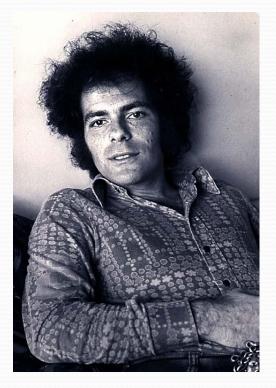
The curse continues?

- In 1999, John F. Kennedy, Jr., died when the plane he was flying crashed in the Atlantic Ocean near Martha's Vineyard.
- This renewed talk of the "Kennedy Curse," and drew 24hour news coverage, but most consider the Kennedys' misfortunes as plain bad luck (sometimes caused by bad decisions!) that can and does happen to many people and their families – not just political families like the Kennedys.



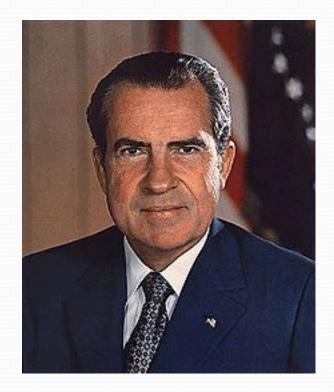
The 1968 Democratic Convention Fiasco

- A major reason Humphrey lost to Nixon was that the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago was marred by violence and riots.
- At one point, 10,000 protesters faced 1,000 police officers – hundreds were injured.
- There was also a ridiculous spectacle of "Yippie" leader Jerry Rubin (right) releasing a pig on the street and saying it was the Youth International Party's presidential candidate!
- Nixon and the Republicans represented the "silent majority" of Americans who wanted law and order, not mobs in the streets – and Nixon easily won the election.



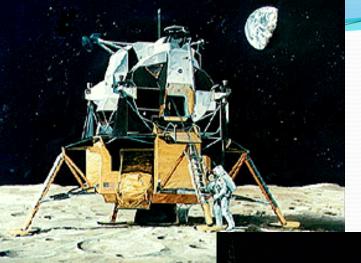
President Richard Milhous Nixon

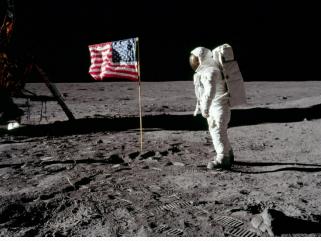
- Nixon had promised a return to law and order in the U.S. and an end to the war in Vietnam.
- He also made changes to U.S. foreign policy toward the USSR and China.
- Soon after Nixon took office, the U.S. also fulfilled JFK's promise to win the space race by putting a man on the moon by the end of the decade.



Apollo 11

- July 20, 1969: Apollo 11 landed on the surface of the moon – astronaut Neil Armstrong became the first man to walk on the moon. Video: https://www.youtube.c om/watch?v=RMINSD7 MmT4
- Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin and Michael Collins were the other astronauts to land on the moon during this mission.





Woodstock!

- Can't talk about the '6os without mentioning Woodstock.
- This was a free concert attended by about 400,000 at Max Yasgur's farm near Woodstock, NY, from August 15-18, 1969.
- 32 acts including Joan Baez, Country Joe McDonald, Jimi Hendrix, & the Grateful Dead.
- One of the landmark moments of the '6os and rock 'n' roll history.



Nixon and China

- Since China had become the communist People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, the U.S. had not recognized it as a legitimate government (instead, we considered the Republic of China on Taiwan- to be the real government of China).
- Nixon recognized the PRC and supported China's membership in the U.N.
- February 1972: Nixon became the first American president to visit China.



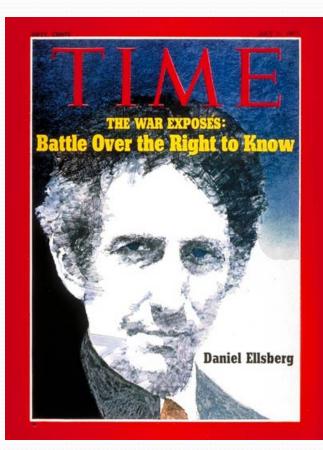
Nixon and the USSR

- Nixon also visited Moscow in May 1972.
- Nixon's easing of tensions with the USSR was called "détente."
- Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed SALT – the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty – in 1972 to limit the nuclear arms race.
- SALT froze the number of ballistic missile launchers both the U.S. and USSR could have and ruled that each country could only add new SLBMs (submarine-launched nukes) after removing an equal number of ICBMs (land-based nukes).
 - SALT didn't get rid of any nuclear weapons, but theoretically kept the number from increasing.



Nixon and the Pentagon Papers

- The Pentagon Papers, showing that LBJ had lied to Americans about Vietnam, had been kept secret from the public while LBJ was still president.
- In 1971, disgruntled Pentagon employee Daniel Ellsberg gave the Pentagon Papers to the New York *Times* to publish.
- Although the papers said nothing about Nixon, he tried to block their publication on grounds of national security. Why?



The Pentagon Papers Go Public

- As president, Nixon didn't like the idea that any ticked-off government employee could turn secret documents over to the media to embarrass the government – that's why Nixon tried to block the Pentagon Papers from being published.
- But the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the *Times* and let it publish the Pentagon Papers.
- Two results:
 - 1. Americans were now even more angry about Vietnam since the papers proved LBJ had lied about it.
 - 2. Many were mad at Nixon for trying to keep the papers secret.

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The Plumbers

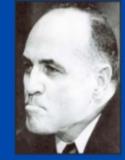
 Nixon formed a special unit called "the Plumbers" because their job was to stop leaks
 information leaks, such as in the Pentagon Papers case.

 The Plumbers also specialized in sabotaging Nixon's political enemies.

The White House Plumbers



G. Gordon Liddy



James McCord

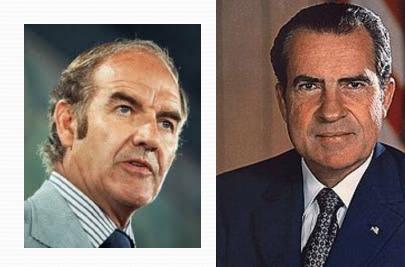


Chuck Colson

- After the release of the Pentagon Papers, the White House created a unit to ensure internal security.
- This unit was called the Plumbers because they stopped leaks.
- In 1971 they burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, seeking material to discredit him.
- It was later revealed that Nixon's domestic advisor John Ehrlichman knew of and approved the plan.

The 1972 Election

- Facing ultra-liberal Democrat candidate George McGovern, Nixon was easily re-elected – the biggest landslide in history at the time, winning 49 out of 50 states.
- It had once looked like the Democrats would nominate Edmund Muskie to run against Nixon, but Muskie's campaign fell apart when he appeared to cry during a TV interview responding to rumors about his wife – he was then seen as too weak to lead the U.S. as president.





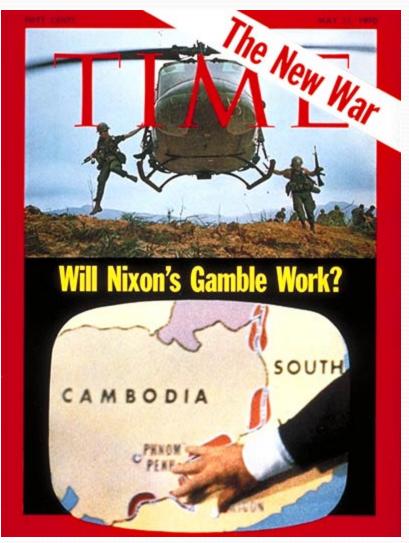
Nixon and Vietnam

- Nixon had promised to end the war in Vietnam, seeking "peace with honor" – the U.S. wouldn't leave Vietnam until a peace agreement between North Vietnam and South Vietnam was made.
- Nixon began withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam in June 1969.
- Vietnamization: as the U.S. gradually pulled out of Vietnam, South Vietnam's army was to take over the fighting from the U.S.



Keeping Pressure on North Vietnam

- The Christmas Bombing: over the Christmas holiday in 1969, Nixon ordered the bombing of North Vietnamese Army (NVA) positions in Cambodia.
 - Cambodia and Laos were countries that neighbored Vietnam – officially, they were neutral, but the Ho Chi Minh Trail ran through them.
- The Cambodian Incursion: in spring 1970, Nixon ordered an incursion of U.S. troops to hit NVA positions in Cambodia, then return to South Vietnam.



Kent State

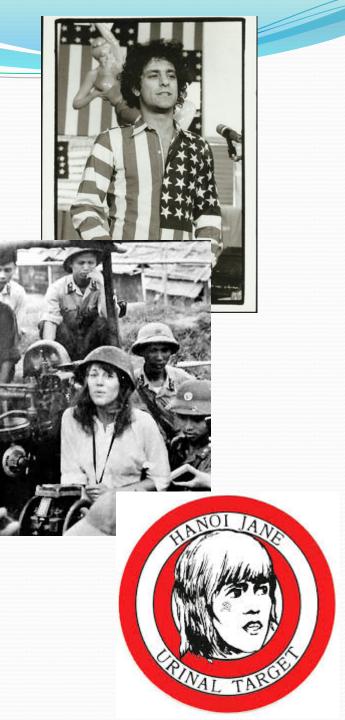
- Antiwar protesters in the U.S. saw Nixon's bombing and incursion into Cambodia as a violation of his promise to get the U.S. out of Vietnam, and protests broke out at colleges all over the U.S.
- At Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, protesters burned down the campus ROTC building.
- The Ohio National Guard was called out to control the protesters.
- After several days of protest, tragedy on May 4, 1970: guardsmen opened fire on the crowd, killing four student protesters.





Famous Antiwar Protesters

- Some people, like Abby Hoffman, became famous by leading antiwar protests during the Vietnam War.
- Others, like the actress Jane Fonda, were already famous when they began protesting the war.
- Many Vietnam vets call Fonda "Hanoi Jane" because she went to Hanoi (North Vietnam's capital) and posed with NVA soldiers – some say she even got extra punishment for American POWs she met during her visit there.
 - The "Hanoi Jane" urinal targets (still sometimes seen today) are a reminder of Vietnam vets' opinion of Jane Fonda!



Ending the Vietnam War

- A cease-fire between North Vietnam and South Vietnam was signed on January 27, 1973, and the U.S. soon withdrew all ground troops from Vietnam.
- North Vietnam later broke the ceasefire and invaded South Vietnam.
- By then, Gerald Ford was president of the U.S., and Congress refused to send aid to help South Vietnam.
- North Vietnam won the war, capturing Saigon on April 30, 1975 – Vietnam was now united as a communist country.
- Combined with the Watergate scandal, the loss of Vietnam marked one of the lowest points in U.S. history.



Last day of Vietnam War Evacuees mount a staircase to board an American helicopter near the American Embasy in Saigon (Hubert van Es/AFP/Getty Images)

The Legacy of Vietnam

- A limited Domino Effect did take place after Vietnam fell to communism – Laos and Cambodia soon became communist, too – but then communism spread no further.
- In the U.S., the Vietnam War continued to be controversial and Vietnam veterans were often mistreated and vilified.
- And of course the Vietnam War is often seen as the only war the U.S. has ever lost, even though the U.S. won every major battle and left with a cease-fire agreement – because our ally South Vietnam later lost the war to North Vietnam.
- In 1985, Richard Nixon said: "The Vietnam War is the most misunderstood event in American history. It was misreported then, and it is misremembered now."





Watergate

- June 17, 1972: suspected burglars are arrested after breaking into the Democratic National Committee (DNC) offices in the Watergate office building.
- Oddly, the "burglars" had listening devices to plant in the DNC offices.
- That's because they weren't really burglars – they were members of Nixon's "Plumbers" – the group formed to stop information leaks, but which by now was sabotaging Nixon's political enemies.



"What did Nixon know, and when did he know it?"

- This was the famous question everyone would later ask about Watergate. Here's the truth:
- Nixon didn't order the Watergate break-in (G. Gordon Liddy and John Mitchell did that) and in fact Nixon didn't even know it had happened until afterward.
- But when he did find out, Nixon ordered a cover-up so news about the break-in couldn't be traced to him & hurt him in the 1972 election.







Woodward & Bernstein

- Most of the media moved on from the Watergate story soon afterward, but Washington Post reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein – aided by a secret government source known only as "Deep Throat" – continued to investigate & report more about the case.
- Woodward & Bernstein believed the story might eventually become a scandal that went all the way up to President Nixon.
- They were right, and their story was soon a hit movie: *All the President's Men*.



Government Investigations Begin

- As Woodward & Bernstein's stories drew more public interest in Watergate, the Senate created a special committee to investigate the 1972 election.
- By this time, Nixon had already been re-elected.
- Archibald Cox was also appointed as a special prosecutor to investigate the Watergate scandal and prosecute any crimes committed.
- On November 17, 1963, Nixon went on TV to defend his reputation: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=</u> <u>U5tgrssDniw</u>



The Saturday Night Massacre

- October 20, 1973 became known as the Saturday Night Massacre.
- Special Prosecutor Cox had subpoenaed Nixon himself – to avoid having to testify under oath, Nixon wanted Cox fired. Here's a movie version:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s6 2PeTxELL4

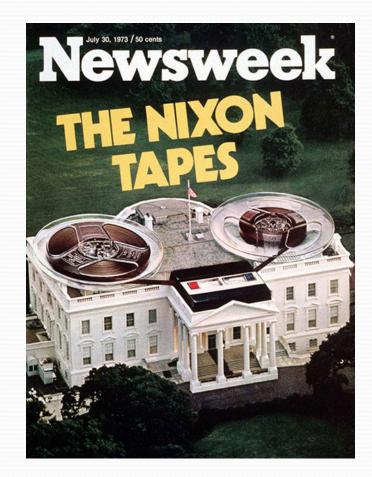
 Nixon ordered his attorney general, Elliot Richardson, to fire Cox – but Richardson refused & resigned in protest; Nixon then ordered Deputy A.G. William Ruckelshaus to fire Cox, but he also refused & resigned; this left Solicitor General Robert Bork as acting head of the Justice Department, so Nixon ordered him to fire Cox – and Bork did.





The White House Tapes

- Nixon had had tape recorders installed in the White House to record historic moments in his presidency.
- Watergate investigators subpoenaed these tapes – at first Nixon refused, then offered to submit transcripts of the tapes – but was forced to submit the tapes themselves.



What the tapes revealed

- Over 18 minutes of one key tape had been erased – Nixon's secretary said she'd "accidentally" erased it.
- Still, Nixon was heard on the remaining tape ordering a cover-up of the Watergate break-in after having learned about it.



The end of the line for Nixon

- In late July 1974, the House Judiciary Committee recommended that Nixon be impeached – it was expected that the full House of Representatives would soon impeach him, and then the Senate would remove him from office.
- To avoid impeachment, Nixon resigned from office on August 9, 1974 – the first (and still the only) U.S. president ever to resign. Here's his TV announcement the night before:

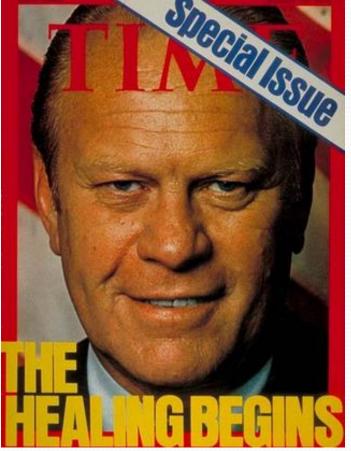
https://www.youtube.com/wa tch?v=lzXL7CoJQDM



Ford Pardons Nixon

- With Nixon's resignation, Vice President Gerald Ford became president.
- Many thought Nixon might be criminally charged and become the first former president to go to prison.
- Before that could happen, President Ford granted Nixon a full pardon for any crimes he may have committed while president.
- Ford was heavily criticized, but most historians now feel he made the right decision by pardoning Nixon and ending the Watergate scandal – it would have dragged on for years if Nixon had been brought to trial.





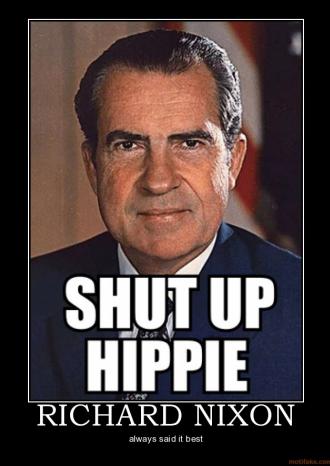
Why did Watergate happen?

- Several theories at the time:
- 1. Democrats arranged the break-in to frame Nixon.
- 2. The CIA was trying to frame Nixon because it disapproved of détente with the USSR (like the SALT treaty).
- 3. The Joint Chiefs of Staff were trying to frame Nixon (for the same reason as the CIA).
- 4. White House Counsel John Dean masterminded the break-in because his girlfriend (future wife) was linked to a call-girl ring allegedly used by the DNC.
- 5. Nixon wanted to find dirt on his enemies, especially DNC Chair Lawrence O'Brien (who later became the commissioner of the NBA!).



The Real Reason Why

- Again, we now know that Nixon didn't order the Watergate break-in (he didn't even know it happened until a few days later).
- But Nixon was basically paranoid and wanted to win the '72 election at all costs – he had told those who worked for him – like G. Gordon Liddy and John Mitchell – to find ways to hurt his opponents, and the Watergate break-in was one idea they put into action to do that.
- Here's the famous ending scene from All the President's Men: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=</u> <u>bMVz5C38yio</u>



Deep Throat Revealed

- For over 30 years, one of the great mysteries about Watergate was: who was "Deep Throat?"
- The shadowy Deep Throat character in the hit movie, *All the President's Men* drove this mystique.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vETxu L7Ij3Q



- Woodward and Bernstein swore never to tell who their secret source was.
- May 31, 2005: Deep Throat finally revealed himself – he was really W. Mark Felt (below right), who was the Deputy Director of the FBI during the Watergate years.
 - His motive: he was unhappy with his career

 thought he should've been FBI Director,
 instead of Deputy Director.



The Legacy of Watergate

- Watergate (and the Vietnam War) led many to believe the U.S. had developed an "imperial presidency," with presidents like Nixon and LBJ having too much power & making secret decisions.
- Congress moved to take back more control of the government by passing laws like the Freedom of Information Act.
- The next two presidents (Ford & Carter) were in a weak position compared to Congress.
- Also, the media has looked for political scandals more than ever since Watergate, and often attaches the "-gate" suffix to them, i.e., Irangate, Travel-gate, Whitewater-gate, etc.